

Lieu, Ted	Paulsen	Sinema
Lipinski	Payne	Sires
LoBiondo	Pearce	Slaughter
Loeback	Pelosi	Smith (MO)
Lofgren	Perlmutter	Smith (NE)
Long	Peters	Smith (NJ)
Loudermilk	Peterson	Smith (TX)
Love	Pingree	Smith (WA)
Lowenthal	Pittenger	Smucker
Lowey	Poe (TX)	Soto
Lucas	Poliquin	Speier
Luetkemeyer	Polis	Stefanik
Lujan Grisham,	Posey	Stewart
M.	Price (NC)	Stivers
Lujan, Ben Ray	Quigley	Suozy
Lynch	Raskin	Swallow (CA)
MacArthur	Ratcliffe	Takano
Maloney,	Reed	Taylor
Carolyn B.	Reichert	Tenney
Maloney, Sean	Renacci	Thompson (CA)
Marchant	Rice (NY)	Thompson (MS)
Marino	Rice (SC)	Thompson (PA)
Marshall	Richmond	Thornberry
Mast	Roby	Tiberi
Matsui	Roe (TN)	Tipton
McCarthy	Rogers (AL)	Titus
McCaul	Rogers (KY)	Tonko
McClintock	Rohrabacher	Torres
McCollum	Rokita	Trott
McEachin	Rooney, Francis	Tsongas
McGovern	Rooney, Thomas	Turner
McHenry	J.	Upton
McKinley	Ros-Lehtinen	Valadao
McMorris	Rosen	Vargas
Rodgers	Roskam	Veasey
McNerney	Ross	Vela
McSally	Rothfus	Velázquez
Meadows	Rouzer	Visclosky
Meehan	Roybal-Allard	Wagner
Meeks	Royce (CA)	Walberg
Meng	Ruiz	Walden
Messer	Ruppersberger	Walker
Mitchell	Rush	Walorski
Moolenaar	Russell	Walters, Mimi
Mooney (WV)	Rutherford	Walz
Moore	Ryan (OH)	Wasserman
Moulton	Sánchez	Schultz
Mullin	Sarbanes	Waters, Maxine
Murphy (FL)	Scalise	Watson Coleman
Nadler	Schakowsky	Weber (TX)
Napolitano	Schiff	Webster (FL)
Neal	Schneider	Welch
Newhouse	Schrader	Wenstrup
Noem	Schweikert	Westerman
Nolan	Scott (VA)	Williams
Norcross	Scott, Austin	Wilson (FL)
Norman	Scott, David	Wilson (SC)
Nunes	Sensenbrenner	Wittman
O'Halleran	Serrano	Womack
O'Rourke	Sessions	Woodall
Olson	Sewell (AL)	Yarmuth
Palazzo	Shea-Porter	Yoder
Pallone	Sherman	Young (AK)
Palmer	Shimkus	Young (IA)
Panetta	Shuster	Zeldin
Pascarella	Simpson	

NAYS—17

Amash	Gohmert	Labrador
Buck	Gonzalez (TX)	Massie
Davidson	Gosar	Perry
Duncan (TN)	Grothman	Sanford
Gaetz	Harris	Yoho
Garrett	King (IA)	

NOT VOTING—5

Bridenstine	Hudson	Pocan
Clarke (NY)	Kennedy	

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1213

Mr. DUNCAN of Tennessee changed his vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

AUTHORIZING THE CLERK TO MAKE CORRECTIONS IN ENGROSSMENT OF H.R. 4375, STEM RESEARCH AND EDUCATION EFFECTIVENESS AND TRANSPARENCY ACT

Mrs. COMSTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Clerk be directed to make the change in the engrossment of H.R. 4375 that I have placed at the table.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the modification.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amend the title so as to read: “A bill to provide for a report on broadening participation in certain National Science Foundation research and education programs, to collect data on Federal research grants to science agencies, and for other purposes.”.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Virginia?

There was no objection.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1, TAX CUTS AND JOBS ACT

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to House Resolution 667, I call up the conference report on the bill (H.R. 1) to provide for reconciliation pursuant to titles II and V of the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 2018, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to House Resolution 667, the conference report is considered read.

(For conference report and statement, see proceedings of the House of December 15, 2017, at page H9943.)

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Texas (Mr. BRADY) and the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. NEAL) each will control 30 minutes.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Texas.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material on the bill currently under consideration.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Today, we are delivering on our tax reform promise to the American people. For the first time in over three decades, we are delivering a new Tax Code that provides more jobs, fairer taxes, and bigger paychecks to Americans across the country.

With this bill, a middle-income family of four earning \$73,000 a year will see a tax cut of over \$2,000. Our local job creators will see the lowest tax rates in modern history so they can in-

vest more in their workers and in their futures. And our businesses will finally have a Tax Code that helps them compete and win anywhere in the world, especially here at home.

This is our moment to make history, to make good on our promise, and to make tax reform a reality for the first time in 31 years.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 3 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, what you are about to hear from our Republican friends for the next 30 minutes is the following: a mixture of theology and science fiction. And then they are going to take you to revisionist history.

This is the most regressive piece of tax legislation that has come from the Ways and Means Committee in the 25 years that I have been a member.

This is not about simplification. When you have a chance to look at the phase-ins and the phaseouts, you will be passed out by the time they get to the expiration dates.

They say it is about simplicity; it is going to be on a postcard. You are going to need to carry a billboard around with you to understand what is in this actual bill.

And here is the best part: when Secretary Mnuchin said, Mr. Speaker, that under no circumstances would people at the top get tax relief. Well, I guess if you are formerly in the 39.6 percent tax bracket, which is summarily lowered to 37 percent, that that is dressed up as no tax relief for people at the very top. But then again, to help out with their argument, then they double the exemption on the estate tax, which will go from \$11 million to \$22 million.

The people at the bottom in this, they are going to argue: Everybody gets a tax cut. Well, here is where we go to revised history.

In 2001, President Bush said everybody gets a tax cut. The Federal budget of \$1.3 trillion included a tax cut for everybody. The people at the bottom got a hundred bucks, and the people at the top got hundreds of thousands of dollars. This is a creative replay of exactly what happened.

And then in 2003, they came back and cut taxes again for people at the very top and blew a huge hole in the Federal deficit, which had been estimated at the time, after Clinton left on January 19, 2001, to project surpluses of \$5.6 trillion over the next 10 years. Instead, the Federal deficit mounted to \$6.1 trillion.

So here is the simplicity of their proposal today. They are borrowing \$2.3 trillion to give a tax cut to people at the very top of American society. That is not in dispute.

In addition to borrowing the money, recall that the Federal Reserve Board said they are projecting, already, three increases next year in interest rates. We don't know what this is going to look like by the time they get done, but this, today, is more about ideology than it is about public policy.

Think of it this way as well: This was done in 1 month. In 1 single month, the entire revenue system of the United States is being transformed.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. I yield myself an additional 1 minute, Mr. Speaker.

Not one public hearing was held on this bill. And when they say today, "Oh, we had 5 years of public hearings," we did not have one hearing on this bill—not one. No witness testimony was sought. No committee was convened for the purpose of a hearing. And then when we went to conference, we were all granted an opening statement, and we got to question the non-partisan Director of the Joint Committee on Taxation.

Mr. Speaker, more than anything else today, this is a missed opportunity where both sides could have accomplished something great for the American people.

I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. NUNES).

Mr. NUNES. Mr. Speaker, I stood here several weeks ago to speak in support of the original House-passed tax reform bill. Since then, as a member of the conference committee, I have participated in the process of strengthening this bill and making it even more transformative. That is why I continue to stand in strong support of the bill and conference report we will be voting on today.

Washington's special interests have distorted business decisions for too long, and we cannot afford to wait any longer to reform our broken Tax Code.

Should we fail to act now, businesses will continue to leave the United States for tax purposes, taking thousands of good-paying jobs—American jobs—with them. Our small businesses will continue to suffer the damaging effects of a bewildering and punitive Tax Code that gives unfair advantages to their larger, well-connected competitors.

But all this will change if we pass this bill.

For years, I have advocated for full and immediate expensing, which will allow businesses of all sizes to write off costs immediately. This bill will provide full expensing, which is one of the many progrowth pieces to this legislation. I am confident my colleagues will soon see the tremendous effect of full expensing and make the important decision to extend it before it expires.

Mr. Speaker, I stand here with my colleagues on an historic day in support of one of the most dramatic reform bills to come before this body since I came to Congress. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act simplifies the Code, grows the economy, and allows for strong business investment.

I have said before that I will not accept the status quo of our broken Tax Code or a minimal reform that merely adjusts rates. Instead, we must trans-

form the Code into a system that is simpler and fairer and that encourages economic growth instead of suppressing it. That is what this bill does, and that is why I strongly support its passage.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. LEVIN), the longest serving member of the Ways and Means Committee, and a well-deserved 1 minute, I might add.

(Mr. LEVIN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEVIN. Mr. Speaker, in all of my 35 years in Congress, this is one of the most deceitful bills I have ever seen.

It is deceitful when Republicans say the bill is focused on the middle class while it is really aimed at making the very wealthy even wealthier and forcing millions of middle class families to pay higher taxes.

It is deceitful when they say it makes the Tax Code simpler, even as the legislation creates complicated new loopholes while allowing existing ones, such as carried interest, to continue.

It is deceitful when the bill will increase the outsourcing of American jobs by providing a lower tax rate on foreign investment compared to investing here.

It is deceitful about the debt. Republicans say don't worry about the expiring tax provisions, but extending them would raise the bill's already devastating effect on the deficit to \$2.3 trillion.

Republicans are rushing this bill, but, even in their haste, they are already too late. The majority of the American people already say this bill is a deceitful sham.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am very proud to yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ROSKAM), chairman of the Tax Policy Subcommittee.

Mr. ROSKAM. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding me time.

We have heard some strong language for the past couple of minutes. This has been described as theology, science fiction, ideology, and now deceit.

Well, where is the deceit?

The deceit is in the assumption that we can live with the status quo, Mr. Speaker.

The deceit is a blindness to the recognition that we have a Tax Code that is literally dissolving underneath us. It is dissolving underneath us.

And this Congress has an opportunity to do something transformational, and I propose, along with my colleagues, to be transformational and opportunistic.

There is a lot of discussion in the subtext of this about class envy and opportunity and so forth. Here is what I know: It is the status quo that is serving the few. It is the status quo that is so off-putting and unsettling and keeps people at arm's length.

What we are proposing is something very different. Mr. Speaker, we are pro-

posing the economics of opportunity, not the economics of envy; the economics of buoyancy and the economics of participation.

Therein lies the foundation of this bill. It offers tax relief that my constituents are longing for, and it offers a business environment in a milieu that makes things happen, and happen for the good.

So I am pleased, I am honored to be a part of this. I urge my colleagues to vote "aye," and let us celebrate a job well done.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Georgia, Congressman JOHN LEWIS, one of the great men of our times.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my good friend and ranking member, Mr. NEAL, for yielding me time.

I rise to oppose this conference report with every bone in my body.

This bill is a \$2.3 trillion cowardly gift to Wall Street, the rich, and the wealthy. This bill was conceived in the darkness of the night and birthed with the help of their donors and funders.

This bill is not for the people; it is not of the people; and, Mr. Speaker, it is not tax reform. They reward their donors so that our children and grandchildren will suffer. This is not fair, it is not just, and it is below the dignity and the worth of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I have said on many occasions that you cannot get blood from a turnip; you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield the gentleman an additional 15 seconds.

Mr. LEWIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, when the bill comes due, the chickens will come home to roost.

I urge all of my colleagues to be on the right side of history and vote against this act.

I thank my good friend, the ranking member, Mr. NEAL, for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I rise to oppose this conference report with every bone in my body.

This bill is a \$2.3 trillion holiday gift for Wall Street, the rich, and the wealthy.

This bill was conceived in the darkness and birthed with the help of your donors and funders.

This bill is not for the people. It is not of the people, and, Mr. Speaker, it is not tax reform.

Working and middle class families, the sick, the elderly, and generations yet unborn will bear the burden of this reckless act.

To pay for this so-called tax cut, Republicans will destroy the hopes of those, who dream of affordable, quality health care.

To pay for this tax cut, Social Security, Medicare, and CHIP will be on the chopping block.

To pay for this tax cut, bipartisan repairs of transportation, affordable housing, and student debt will be out of reach.

To pay for this tax cut, every single federal program that matters to the American people will be dealt a crippling blow.

You reward your donors so that our children and grandchildren will suffer.

This is not fair. It is not just, and it is below the dignity and the worth of this body.

Mr. Speaker, I've said on many occasions that you cannot get blood from a turnip, and you cannot justify robbing poor Peter to pay billionaire Paul.

Mr. Speaker, when the bill comes due, the chickens will come home to roost.

I urge all of my colleagues to be on the right side of history and to vote against this bill.

□ 1230

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from Tennessee (Mrs. BLACK), the chairwoman of the Budget Committee and a member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mrs. BLACK. Mr. Speaker, this is truly a monumental day for the American people.

During my 7 years here in the House serving on the Ways and Means Committee, we have studied, considered, and outlined the sorts of reform that could benefit the American people.

As a conferee for H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, I am proud that we kept our promise of providing tax relief for hardworking, middle class families and making the Tax Code simpler and fairer for all.

It has been more than three decades since our Nation's tax system has been modernized, and this is finally the day to change that.

I want to remind my colleagues that the process began long before this year. When passage of the budget provided the key, our ideas for conservative tax reform were finally unlocked and could be pursued for real tax reform.

Without question, this conference report reflects our shared conservative principles. The conference agreement addresses the heavy tax burden weighing down hardworking Americans and holding back job creators. It brings simplicity to the Tax Code. It helps low- and middle-income Americans see more of their hard-earned dollars in their paychecks. It empowers entrepreneurs and small businesses to continue opening, operating, and expanding on Main Street.

With every major legislative effort, there will be critics. But the critics have it wrong. The truth is that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act delivers relief at every income level and protects more hard-earned dollars from taxes. For the average family of four, this legislation means a tax cut next year of more than \$2,000.

The point of this exercise is that we are cutting your taxes, plain and simple. I urge my colleagues to stand on the right side of history and support this legislation because the benefits

will be felt by all Americans for generations to come.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. HOYER), the very capable legislator and Democratic whip.

Mr. HOYER. Mr. Speaker, I was here in 1981. They said the 1981 bill would pay for itself.

David Stockman, a former colleague from Michigan, was here. He was at OMB. A few years later, he wrote a book and he said: I said it would pay for itself, and I knew that was not true. The same can be said of this bill.

Mr. Speaker, history will indeed remember this vote. Future generations of Americans will remember who cast their votes to raise taxes on 86 million middle class households and heap another \$1.5 trillion in deficits onto our children and our grandchildren.

They will remember who cast their votes for a plan that gives 83 percent of its benefits to 1 percent of the American people.

They will remember that President Trump promised that the middle class would get a tax cut and wealthy individuals like him would not, before turning his back on that promise.

They will remember those who cast their vote to kick 13 million Americans off their health insurance coverage.

They will remember those who acted with the full knowledge that their votes would trigger a \$25 billion cut to Medicare. I know you said you are going to waive it, which would simply add \$25 billion more to the deficit.

Posterity will also remember those who stood up in the face of this dangerous and partisan bill and said "no." Those of us who vote against it are doing so not because we oppose tax reform. On the contrary. We recognize, as most Americans do, that this bill is not tax reform. It is a tax giveaway to those who don't need our help, paid for by those who need it the most. This is reckless and dangerous deficit spending at its worst.

In 1986, Democrats and Republicans worked together in good faith and over many months in an open, transparent, and regular order process to craft real, bipartisan tax reform that helped the middle class without adding a dime to the deficit. Not a single dime.

This has not been an open process. This has not been bipartisan. This has not been transparent or through regular order.

This raises taxes, as I said, on 86 million Americans, who will pay more taxes 10 years from now than they do today. It gives 83 percent of the tax cuts to the top 1 percent, not the \$59,000 family that PAUL RYAN talked about, but to those families making over \$900,000 a year.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The time of the gentleman has expired.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield an additional 1 minute to the gentleman.

Mr. HOYER. This bill adds \$1.5 trillion to the deficit. This is not tax reform.

So Republicans may pat themselves on the back in the coming days for having finally passed something out of Congress. Unfortunately, it is a bad thing. I urge them to remember that this vote may be the most consequential of their careers, and not positively.

I say to my friends across the aisle: Stand up and say "no" with us and commit to start working on a product all Members of the Chamber can be proud of, as was the case in 1986. That is what Ronald Reagan did. In 1986, Reagan did not go down this reckless and irresponsible path.

Stand up for the principles you used to espouse but are now about to abandon. Stand up for fiscal responsibility. Stand up for the middle class. Stand up for what the American people hope we would do. This is not it.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentlewoman from South Dakota (Mrs. NOEM).

Mrs. NOEM. Mr. Speaker, I rise today as a farmer, a rancher, a small-business person, but most importantly as a mom. I rise to support the conference report on H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

Mr. Speaker, in my home State of South Dakota, the average household income is \$54,000 per year. Out of that \$54,000, our families pay double the national average in energy costs just because of where they are located. These are hardworking families and they deserve a break. The Tax Cuts and Jobs Act gives them that break.

By lowering tax rates, doubling the standard deduction, and doubling the child tax credit, that family in South Dakota making \$54,000 can go from an \$833 tax liability to a \$781 tax refund. That is a \$1,600 difference in after-tax income. That is \$1,600 that can go back to benefit their families and their communities, rather than into the greedy hands of those in Washington.

On top of that, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act is designed to build a healthier economy—an economy in which that family making \$54,000 can get a raise, an economy that actually grows jobs.

I am proud to have served on the conference committee that put this report together. I thank Chairman BRADY for his leadership throughout the process. We worked literally hundreds of hours putting this together and getting the child tax credit where it is today.

We had vigorous debates about the benefits to rural America. I am thrilled to be able to go home and tell South Dakota farmers and ranchers they will have new expensing tools, a new small business deduction, and significantly lower individual rates.

While I am disappointed that this bill doesn't completely repeal the death tax, it does provide more relief for producers and small-business owners.

While no plan is perfect in anyone's eyes, this legislation puts more money in the pockets of hardworking taxpayers. The bottom line is this: the American people deserve more control over their paychecks. They worked for

that money, and it is time folks in Washington respect that.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. DOGGETT), a valued member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. DOGGETT. Mr. Speaker, between tweets, Trump apparently had time to take those calls from his rich friends that kept asking for more. Not even this lapdog Republican Congress initially did enough to satisfy the Trump family and their billionaire buddies.

Instead of adjusting the differences between the House and the Senate, Republican conferees, last week, secretly concocted even more benefits for them. Those real estate moguls, like Trump, who had already been granted preferential tax treatment, can now take advantage of an entirely new loophole that was not in either of the previous bills.

Just in case their endless loopholes left some donor behind, the Republicans have provided a new, across-the-board tax cut for billionaires. It is working families who will pay to put the platinum tinsel on this Christmas tree for the elite.

This is not tax reform. It is a reward for the privileged. It is a Christmas where working people get to keep the gift wrapping, but the wealthy and corporate tax dodgers get the gift.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. TIBERI).

Mr. TIBERI. Mr. Speaker, this is a historic day.

I am reminded that 17 years ago, I got elected to Congress, campaigning on tax reform and campaigning on the fact that it is not our money, it is our constituents' money.

Today we are giving the money back to our constituents. To Bob and Betty Buckeye in Ohio, it is more wages in their pockets.

The bill also includes an initiative that I worked on with Mr. KIND that is bipartisan, called the Investing in Opportunity Act, cosponsored by Mr. NEAL. This bill, authored by my friend in the Senate, TIM SCOTT, will help areas that haven't seen economic recovery to allow private investment in poor rural and urban areas. Thanks to Mr. SCOTT, the bill was in the Senate version and in the conference committee.

Mr. NEAL knows that incentives like that, the low-income housing tax credit, the new markets tax credit, and the historic tax credit will help those in communities that have been left behind with more money in working families' pockets.

I urge adoption of the conference report.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. THOMPSON), a distinguished Vietnam veteran and a well-known and valued member of the committee.

Mr. THOMPSON of California. Mr. Speaker, this tax bill is bait and switch.

Republicans said the tax bill would simplify the tax system and help working people, not the rich. Well, that is out the window. With this Republican bill, 86 million middle class households will see their taxes go up.

Remember when the Republicans said we would be filing our taxes on a postcard?

The postcard is now gone. Instead of making our Tax Code simpler, Republicans have made it more complicated. They have even added an additional bracket.

Their claim that this is not a tax bill that favors the rich and the corporations, some of which ship jobs overseas, is malarkey. While there are some tax cuts for the middle class, they are all temporary. But the breaks for corporations are permanent. That is leaving too many people behind.

Let's not forget about the State and local tax provision. Because of the changes the Republicans are making, some home values in some States are projected to drop by 10 percent.

The richest of the rich are getting a break. The top bracket is dropping from 39.6 percent to 37 percent. Those folks are not your working, middle class families. To add insult to injury, it raises our debt by \$2.3 trillion.

It is a bad bill. Please vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Kansas (Ms. JENKINS).

Ms. JENKINS of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and for his leadership on this very important issue.

Mr. Speaker, I rise today to be a voice for Kansans who know our status quo Tax Code no longer works for them. They know it doesn't work when it favors special interests over individuals or when it causes Kansas factories to close, sending those jobs to other countries.

I rise today because Kansans know that without rejuvenated and sustained economic growth, we will never find the money to pay down our Nation's debt.

That is why I strongly support H.R. 1, which will close special interest loopholes and lower rates for everyone—not just the rich, not just the poor, but everyone.

Individuals in my district will see immediate tax relief with the doubling of the standard deduction and the child tax credit. We also lessen the financial burden of education by keeping important college tax provisions and expanding access to 529 savings plans.

On average, a family of four in my district will see a tax cut of just over \$2,300 because of this bill.

A fairer, simpler Tax Code means every hardworking family will see the tax relief and economic growth this country rightfully deserves.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mr. LARSON), the former president of the State Senate and a well-informed member of the Ways and Means Committee.

□ 1245

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the Congressional Budget Office's accounting of the \$25 billion that will be taken out of Medicare.

CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET OFFICE,
U.S. CONGRESS

Washington, DC, November 13, 2017.

Hon. STENY H. HOYER,
Democratic Whip, House of Representatives,
Washington, DC.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This letter responds to your request for information about the effects of legislation that would raise deficits by an estimated \$1.5 trillion over the 2018–2027 period, specifically with respect to a sequestration—or cancellation of budgetary resources—in accordance with the Statutory Pay-As-You-Go Act of 2010 (PAYGO; Public Law 111–139).

The PAYGO law requires that new legislation enacted during a term of Congress does not collectively increase estimated deficits. The Office of Management and Budget (OMB) is required to maintain two so-called PAYGO scorecards to report the cumulative changes generated by new legislation in estimated revenues and outlays over the next five years and ten years. If either scorecard indicates a net increase in the deficit, OMB is required to order a sequestration to eliminate the overage. The authority to determine whether a sequestration is required (and if so, exactly how to make the necessary cuts in budget authority) rests solely with OMB.

CBO has analyzed the implications of enacting a bill that would increase deficits by \$1.5 trillion over a 10-year window, without enacting any further legislation to offset that increase. In accordance with the PAYGO law, OMB would record the average annual deficit on its PAYGO scorecard, showing deficit increases of, in the example provided, \$150 billion per year. If the bill were enacted before the end of the calendar year, that amount would be added to the current balances on the PAYGO scorecard, which for 2018, show a positive balance of \$14 billion. (For years after 2018, the balances range from a \$14 billion credit to a \$1 billion debit.)

Without enacting subsequent legislation to either offset that deficit increase, waive the recordation of the bill's impact on the scorecard, or otherwise mitigate or eliminate the requirements of the PAYGO law, OMB would be required to issue a sequestration order within 15 days of the end of the session of Congress to reduce spending in fiscal year 2018 by the resultant total of \$136 billion. However, the PAYGO law limits reductions to Medicare to four percentage points (or roughly \$25 billion for that year), leaving about \$111 billion to be sequestered from the remaining mandatory accounts. Because the law entirely exempts many large accounts including low-income programs and social security, the annual resources available from which OMB must draw is, in CBO's estimation, only between \$85 billion to \$90 billion, significantly less than the amount that would be required to be sequestered. (For a full list of accounts subject to automatic reductions, see OMB Report to the Congress on the Joint Committee Reductions for Fiscal Year 2018, <https://go.usa.gov/xnZ3U>.)

Given that the required reduction in spending exceeds the estimated amount of available resources in each year over the next 10 years, in the absence of further legislation, OMB would be unable to implement the full extent of outlay reductions required by the PAYGO law.

If you wish further details on this estimate, we will be pleased to provide them.

Sincerely,

KEITH HALL,
Director.

Mr. LARSON of Connecticut. Mr. Speaker, it is hard to be here today, as we approach Christmas, and not look at this bill, knowing that we have honorable Members on the other side, who, this Christmas, will be sitting with their relatives, their family members, their mothers and fathers, their brothers and sisters, and knowing that this creates not just a \$2 trillion debt, but the pay-for—the pay-for—out of the Medicare program: an automatic cut of \$25 billion in a plan that was never debated. It fulfills a grand vision of Grover Norquist and the ideology that you took a pledge to. But what about the oath of office, and a pledge to the Constitution, and standing up for the people of this Nation, and the very elderly at this Christmas, and throughout the year, who will need our help?

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. PAULSEN).

Mr. PAULSEN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

One of my predecessors—a good friend and mentor—was Bill Frenzel. He was the last Minnesotan to serve on the Ways and Means Committee when tax reform was passed. It was 1986.

In the 31 years since then, our Tax Code has been one of the most complicated, unfair, and most uncompetitive in the world. It has led to a stagnant economy with sluggish growth, with America losing our manufacturing, our jobs, our innovation, and our headquarters overseas.

But today, that all changes. Today, we will pass and give Minnesota employers the confidence and the capital that they need to grow their businesses, to hire more workers, and to give their employees a raise.

This provides middle-income families with tax cuts they need to save for their future and improve their standard of living. This helps real people with real needs.

Mr. Speaker, tax reform for me is about one thing and one thing only: it is about restoring the hope for a prosperous future for ourselves, our parents, and, most importantly, our children.

Mr. Speaker, I urge adoption of the report.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. BLUMENAUER), a very capable member of the committee, and a champion of renewable energy.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Mr. Speaker, this bill will be the largest transfer of wealth in our Nation's history, financed by mortgaging our children's future with a mountain of increased debt. It is not really even a policy. It is, rather, a collection of special inter-

est provisions being sold on a false set of promises.

It is not middle class tax relief. It is, instead, permanent and massive tax reduction for the largest corporations and wealthy individuals like Donald Trump. Eighty-three percent will flow to the top 1 percent.

Everybody else will receive only a small, and temporary, tax reduction. Ultimately, 86 million Americans, middle class Americans, will have their taxes increased.

This legislation fails utterly to invest in the American people for this \$2.3 trillion. But it is a bonanza for the attorneys, the accountants, and the lobbyists finding ways to further enrich the most privileged in America.

And, for weeks to come, we are going to learn more about the special gifts hidden within this bill to nail down the last few votes.

No wonder the American public is opposed. They are right, and the Republicans are wrong.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. SMITH).

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, I rise today in support of the tax reform conference report.

This is our great opportunity to reduce the tax burden on Americans across the economic spectrum, while modernizing our Tax Code for the 21st century.

I would like to take a few moments to discuss what this bill does for American agriculture.

First and foremost, this bill cuts taxes for most Americans, while simplifying compliance and transitioning us to a more competitive tax system internationally.

In addition to retaining the deduction for State and local taxes for individuals and families up to \$10,000, this bill leaves intact the full deduction for property taxes on ag land and property.

In addition, I am grateful this conference report includes a solution to concerns raised by agriculture co-ops and their members about the repeal of section 199.

With commodity prices low, it is important we ensure the Tax Code continues to work as intended, with co-ops passing along their profits to their producer owners.

Finally, while I would have preferred we repeal the death tax in full, doubling the exemption and keeping a stepped up basis will help provide certainty for more farmers, ranchers, and small businesses.

Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman and the conferees for their work on this strong product. I am anxious to pass this bill and get it to the President for his signature.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. KIND), a very capable member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. KIND. Mr. Speaker, if we are going to borrow \$2 trillion from China over the next 10 years, it better be for

a very good reason. And lavishing huge tax breaks to multinational corporations and to the most wealthy amongst us is not a good reason.

I am very concerned about many of my fiscally conservative friends across the aisle. So I offered an amendment that would have expanded the endangered species list to include fiscally conservative Republicans because they are about to go extinct under this bill.

And under this bill, they are creating a mess that is going to take years to clean up because of the potential for fraud and abuse.

Consider this: They are pitting a hastily written bill, drafted without one hearing, considered without feedback from people back home, without proper vetting, all over the course of a few short weeks against some of the smartest accountants and tax attorneys that money can buy.

Who do you think is going to win that battle?

This is a bill that was drafted of, for, and by the powerful special interests in Washington, and it should be rejected.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Once again, the Chair reminds Members to direct their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Louisiana (Mr. SCALISE), the majority whip of the Republican Conference.

Mr. SCALISE. Mr. Speaker, I thank Chairman BRADY for yielding time and for his leadership in the entire group of conferees on bringing this tax cuts and jobs bill to the floor.

I thank President Trump for working with us every step of the way to bring us to a historic moment where we are actually going to provide tax relief to hardworking families.

There are those on the other side who would say: Keep all the money in Washington, stunt economic growth, continue to let America be non-competitive where we see jobs go overseas over and over again—large companies, thousands of jobs at a time moving to foreign countries—because we have the highest corporate tax rate in the industrialized world.

Well, Mr. Speaker, it is time for that to end, and we do end that in this bill. We finally make our country competitive again so we can bring those jobs back.

Why deny opportunity for so many people who want a chance at the American Dream?

In our bill, Mr. Speaker, we cut every single tax rate and make it lower. That is more money in the pockets of hardworking families. On average, families are going to see over \$2,000 more back in their paychecks every year. That is real money, when you look at, right now, the average savings for families is \$400 in their checking account. This is real money to help people have better opportunities to go put more money in their kids' college tuition accounts.

When you look at what this means, it is not only good for economic growth, creating jobs, and rebuilding our middle class, but it is historic in the simplification where over 90 percent of

American families will actually be able to do their taxes on a postcard. Just think of how simplified that makes the Code.

The last time this was done was in 1986. And when Ronald Reagan was signing that bill, he talked about how hard it was and how many times people said it couldn't happen. In fact, Ronald Reagan read a quote from a headline, and he said: "The impossible became the inevitable."

Today, Mr. Speaker, we make that impossible the inevitable again and restore that hope and opportunity for so many families who just want a chance at the American Dream. We give them that.

Let's pass the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act today. Get it on President Trump's desk so we can finally see this economy going again. What a great Christmas present this is going to be to the American people.

Mr. Speaker, I urge everybody to vote "yes."

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. PASCRELL), the very quotable Congressman.

Mr. PASCRELL. Mr. Speaker, all on a postcard, simple as that. I say it is a postage stamp mentality. Many of them need counseling in economics. If they want to keep it simple, let's keep it simple. Very simple.

How about that couple that wants to send their kids to college and put a second mortgage on their house. You can't do that anymore. You cannot do that. That is not a middle class legislation. That is the stick it to the middle class.

Mr. Speaker, this is serious business. I will tell you what is simple. If you are born in a family with an estate worth more than \$11 million, this Republican Congress is coming to your aid with a \$3 million average windfall.

And if this Congress actually still practiced oversight, we would know from his tax returns that Donald Trump and his family will see cuts worth millions of dollars per family.

This is not good policy, Mr. Speaker—not at all—and it is dangerous.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Texas (Mr. MARCHANT).

Mr. MARCHANT. Mr. Speaker, today, we are keeping our promise to the American people and sending comprehensive tax reform to the President's desk for the first time in 31 years.

Lowering the tax rates for middle-income families and providing a tax cut for every income level in 2018 is a very historic Christmas present delivered to my constituents in north Texas.

This year, our country has—after many long years of low growth—begun to experience the level of growth and economy that it needs. This tax cut bill will assure Americans years of sustained high growth and new jobs.

Mr. Speaker, job creators and investors know that the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act will create lasting economic

growth and a booming economy for everyone.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to vote in favor of this bill and deliver tax relief to the American people.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CROWLEY), the chairman of the Democratic Caucus, a good friend, and a former member of the committee.

Mr. CROWLEY. Mr. Speaker, the Republican bill is unaffordable, with a \$2.3 trillion price tag.

It is inequitable, costing working families more, while cutting taxes by \$200,000 for the top 0.1 percent.

It is a scam, and the American people know it.

Is this bill about helping people who are living paycheck to paycheck?

Hell no.

Is this bill going to bring back jobs and lift up the middle class?

Hell no.

Is this bill going to make life better for cops, firefighters, nurses, truck drivers, students, veterans, teachers, and shift workers?

Hell no.

Do you know who this bill is going to help?

Corporate special interests, the wealthiest Americans, and, yes, the Trump family.

My colleagues, if it looks like a scam, quacks like a scam, it is a scam.

Can you vote for this bill with a clear conscience?

Hell no, you can't.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are advised to observe proper decorum in debate.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. REED).

Mr. REED. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding to me.

And to the colleague from New York, to all of the people you referenced in the middle class, I say: Hell yes, they are going to be helped by this bill.

And do you know what it is going to do? It is going to let them keep the money in their pocket that they earned, the \$1,600, for the average resident in my district.

And what it is also going to do, Mr. Speaker, is it is going to create jobs.

And what does a job do for a person?

I will tell you what it does. It not only puts money in their pockets, Mr. Speaker, but we are going to have a new wave of optimism. We are going to have a new wave of opportunity, where people will be able to go to work, soil their hands, and earn their livelihood, which gives them dignity, which gives them pride, and gives them honor.

This is a new day in America. And with tax reform and tax cuts coming, I say to all of my colleagues: Join us to stand for those hardworking Americans, give them their money, and allow us to give hope and opportunity to all of them going forward.

□ 1300

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Illinois

(Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS), a very knowledgeable Member from the city of Chicago and champion of all things Chicago.

Mr. DANNY K. DAVIS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, any way you cut it, with this bill, the rich will get richer, the poor will get poorer, and middle class families will get shafted. Thirteen million Americans will lose their health coverage, and people with preexisting conditions can forget it.

Then the writers of this bill will be coming after entitlement programs, after Medicaid, Medicare, Social Security, SSI. We are down to the wire, and no matter what is said, this bill raises the debt, raises taxes on middle-income families, and provides wealthy individuals and corporations with big tax cuts they don't need.

It is a sad day for my district; it is a sad day for the State of Illinois; it is a sad day for the United States of America; and I will vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. HOLDING).

Mr. HOLDING. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be here today to support this much-needed overhaul of our broken Tax Code. The status quo we have seen over the past decade is unacceptable, and this bill will finally provide much-needed relief to working families and put our economy back on the path to stable and sustained growth.

This bill restores the global competitiveness of American businesses by lowering the corporate rate and moving toward a territorial system. Further, H.R. 1 provides our small businesses the lowest tax rate in a generation, ensuring that these job creators are able to reinvest more of their hard-earned money in our future.

Instead of handing over more of their money to the government, small businesses can hire that extra employee, open that second location, or buy that new piece of machinery or lab equipment that they need to take them to the next level by putting in place a Tax Code that encourages growth and rewards investment. It is projected there will be over 10,000 new full-time jobs created in my State of North Carolina.

I am proud to support this transformational bill that will bolster growth and investment here at home, leveling the playing field for U.S. businesses.

Further, I look forward to continuing to work with my colleagues to ensure that Americans across the globe have a similar level playing field through a system of residence-based taxation.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New York (Mr. HIGGINS), a capable member of the Ways and Means Committee.

Mr. HIGGINS of New York. Mr. Speaker, the rich and wealthy corporate winners of this Republican tax scam love company, and they just got the company of 14 United States Senators who will personally benefit from a new 20 percent deduction for wealthy

real estate investors with no employees to pass that benefit on to.

One Senator who voted against the bill, before he announced he was voting for it, stands to gain \$7 million annually and personally. The Senator said he was unaware of the provision and that he did not read the bill.

Mr. Speaker, the conference committee, the reconciliation process, was to narrow the differences between these two bad bills, not add new provisions that benefit rich Senators. This bad bill just took a dramatic and potentially illegal turn that should be fully investigated before a vote is taken today.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. MCCARTHY), the majority leader of the House.

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. Speaker, before I begin, I want to thank the gentleman.

Today, we will take a vote that every Member on this floor will remember. The country will remember. Then next year, when people check their checks and realize they have more money, they are going to remember who voted for status quo and who voted to make America's comeback.

I want to thank the chairman, KEVIN BRADY, for that work.

Now, Mr. Speaker, a month ago, when the House passed an earlier version of this bill, I said that, for all the jobless, for everyone who hasn't gotten a raise in years, for the parents, for the small-business owners, and for anyone who ever dreamed of being that entrepreneur and a small-business owner, we heard you. This bill is the start of their comeback, and when they win, well, that is the start of America's comeback.

Our country has faced some tough times. I don't have to tell you about that. And for too long, year after year, more and more Americans gave up hope. They were out of work. Or maybe they had a job, but they could not see past the next month or even the next week. They watched factories and businesses close up shop and move out, even moving out of the country.

Nobody wants to see their communities hollow out. Nobody wants to feel like they live in a nation in decline. That is not who Americans are. Frankly, Mr. Speaker, we are not a country that gives up on hope. This legislation and the Republican Party's entire economic plan, they are giving people hope.

You can see it in the stock market. For every American who vests their retirement in a 401(k), 84 times it has set a new record since last year's election alone.

You can see it in companies like Broadcom. You know, Broadcom was a company created in America, but they are not domiciled here today. They moved to Singapore simply over our Tax Code.

So for those who want the status quo and want to keep Broadcom in another country, go ahead and vote "no." For

those who believe in the hope of this country, even greater, looking at this bill, Broadcom said they are coming back to America.

Mr. Speaker, you know what that means? \$20 billion in revenue in just a year. That means \$3 billion every year invested in R&D; \$6 billion every year invested in manufacturing. Those are jobs we all dream about, and the action of this bill is making it happen.

You can see it in the faces of families who learn that next year thousands of dollars that they earn won't go straight to Washington; it will actually stay right at home. And this is all in an environment of disinformation and fear-mongering. I mean, I have seen what has been said, and, to me, it is absurd.

Mr. Speaker, Leader PELOSI said that this bill was, and I quote, "Armageddon" and "the end of the world." Now, Mr. Speaker, I listened a great deal to what my counterpart on the other side, the minority leader, has said, and I have read when The Washington Post analyzed what she had said.

Now, when you say something that could be a little off and don't have all the information, they have this rating for you. She has had a rating on this. She did not get one Pinocchio. She did not even get two. She didn't even get the extreme of three. She got the most Pinocchios you can say when it is totally false, four, for her conversation about this bill.

Mr. Speaker, in such times when the other side will say anything to win their political game, I recommend that folks actually look at the bill: doubling the standard deduction; lowering rates; simplifying the Code so you don't spend weeks, you spend minutes; doubling the child tax credit; ending the individual mandate; lowering taxes on small businesses to the lowest it has been in 40 years; creating incentives for business to invest and hire. That is not a recipe for Armageddon. That is hope for a nation to come back.

The American people see through all this rhetoric, and they are going to feel it next year when they check their paychecks and they see they keep more money because of the vote today. They are going to feel it next year and the years after and when they get that raise they have been waiting for. They are going to feel it more and more as companies announce coming back home. They are bringing jobs right back to the USA. They are going to feel it when we start looking to the future not with fear, but with hope.

I won't accept the status quo. But there will be some in this body who will vote for the status quo. I won't accept failure.

Now, I do not believe anybody in this body was elected to preside over America's decline. I recently was overseas, and I was sitting at a dinner table with some elected leaders from other countries, some Americans who were working in other countries, and I asked them: What is the impression of what

is happening in America today? I thought the reports I would get would be a little different.

Do you know what they said to me? They said: America is back. You are now tackling big items again. Not only are you going to lead your own country, but you will help, again, lead the world. They were fearful of the competition of rising America one more time.

So don't vote for the status quo. Vote for a tax cut. Vote for reform. Don't vote because some leader whipped you and intimidated you. Vote for your constituents. Vote for your country, and vote to raise the paychecks of America.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, the stock market has been going up since March of 2009, and we have had 88 straight months of economic growth.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Alabama (Ms. SEWELL).

Ms. SEWELL of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Republican majority is ramming this tax bill through, calling it a Christmas gift to the American people. I have never seen such intellectual dishonesty in my life. It is more like the Grinch who stole Christmas.

In poll after poll and through elections in New Jersey, Virginia, and my home State of Alabama, the American people continue to send a message that they do not want this tax bill to move forward. But here we are watching the fiscal hawks of the Republican Party blow through every red light on the way off the cliff, adding \$1.5 trillion to the deficit.

What is the rush, I ask you. Last week, the American people in my home State of Alabama spoke up and spoke out. We deserve to have our duly elected Senator to vote on this bill.

What is the rush? Not one hearing, not one expert testifying, and no regular order. I ask you, Mr. Speaker, what is the rush?

I believe the rush is because they know this is not tax reform. It is a tax sham. The American people deserve better. My constituents from Alabama deserve better. We should vote "no" on this tax bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. SMITH), the secretary of the Republican Conference.

Mr. SMITH of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to represent the folks of southeast Missouri. The district that I represent, the average median income is right at \$40,000. It is one of the lowest average median incomes in the country.

I have asked my folks back home, just last week, if they support this tax bill, and, in fact, 67 percent say they support the Trump tax bill. Mr. Speaker, \$40,000 back home is a salary. It is not a Christmas bonus that people get in New York City or California. \$40,000 is their salary.

Mr. Speaker, let me give you some facts: Mr. Speaker, the first \$24,000

that people earn in southeast Missouri will be at a zero percent tax rate. A family of four that makes \$55,000 will pay zero in income tax.

When you look at a median average income in southeast Missouri being \$40,000, we are winners. What you are hearing on the other side is complete, false, and absolute lies.

Mr. Speaker, I ask this body to support the conference committee.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Washington (Ms. DELBENE), who is very successful.

Ms. DELBENE. Mr. Speaker, in this tax bill, Republicans have gifted the wealthiest corporations and individuals with massive new tax cuts and loopholes to take advantage of. But when I go home to my district, there isn't a mother working two jobs to put food on the table or a farmer struggling through a bad year or a senior trying to pay for a prescription who has ever told me that tax reform means corporate cuts on the backs of them and their families.

□ 1315

They know Republicans always promise that the benefits will trickle down to working people, but they never do and they never will. What is worse, Republicans have made it clear that cuts to Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid are next.

This bill takes care of corporate special interests, the wealthy, and the well connected, while putting middle class Americans' finances and healthcare on the chopping block.

We need tax reform that helps middle class families. This bill does the exact opposite. I urge my colleagues to oppose it.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from Indiana (Mrs. WALORSKI).

Mrs. WALORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support today of H.R. 1, the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

If you believe the rhetoric you hear, you may think this bill means the world is ending. I guarantee you, it is not.

The truth is this tax cut bill means a brighter future for the hardworking people and hardworking Americans who will have more money in their pockets and a better shot at the American Dream.

Here are the facts: we are cutting taxes for Americans at all income levels. We are doubling the standard deduction. We are doubling the child tax credit and preserving the adoption tax credit. We are keeping deductions for charitable giving, mortgage interest, medical expenses, and student loan interest. We are improving 529 education plans and leaving retirement savings alone. People will be able to keep more of their money they earn and spend less time filing their taxes.

Mr. Speaker, this isn't just a good bill, this is a great bill. This isn't the Apocalypse. It is a new day in America.

Mr. Speaker, I urge my colleagues to make history and support this momentous bill.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. JUDY CHU), the former revenue commissioner of the State of California, who is going to tell us about the State and local tax deduction ending.

Ms. JUDY CHU of California. Mr. Speaker, we were promised a middle class tax cut. This is not it. What we have instead are tax cuts for the wealthiest paid for by the rest.

So what happened?

Maybe Trump thinks multimillionaires are the middle class or maybe this all is just a tax scam.

To see how working families will pay for corporate interest, all you have to do is read the bill, which is hard to do, because it was written overnight behind closed doors.

Tax cuts: they reduce the tax rate for the wealthiest from 39.6 percent to 37 percent.

State and local taxes: they cap the deduction to just \$10,000. But in my State of California, the average deduction is \$18,500, meaning families will be forced to pay taxes now on twice their income in order to give a staggering tax break to corporations.

So hear this: 83 percent of the benefits of this bill goes to the top 1 percent.

Who gets cut?

Seniors, families, children.

Is this the right thing to do?

The answer is a resounding no.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. BISHOP).

Mr. BISHOP of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act today.

At its core, reforming our Nation's Tax Code is about how we, the policy-makers, view the role of government in our economy and society.

Over the past 10 years, the American people have seen a stagnant economy and a steady decline in labor force participation. Meanwhile, the government has grown to an unprecedented level, the economy has slowed, and our debt has nearly tripled. All the while, government has given away sweetheart deals to select companies, leaving Main Street job providers to hold the bag.

But all of that ends today. Today we reduce the burden on job creators and families. Today we create an environment that will generate real economic growth.

The conference committee report before us today is about our constituents, about allowing our constituents and neighbors to keep more of their hard-earned money. For starters, we double the standard deduction, which means for joint filers, the first \$24,000 of their income is free from Federal income tax liability. That is real money back in the pockets of working class families across America.

The plan expands the child tax credit to \$2,000 per child to help families with

the cost of raising children. For students struggling with debt, the bill preserves the student loan interest deduction and graduate students will continue to receive tuition tax waivers tax free.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 seconds to the gentlewoman from New York (Ms. VELÁZQUEZ), who will tell us about the great harm that this does to New York and to the island of Puerto Rico.

Ms. VELÁZQUEZ. Mr. Speaker, after Hurricane Maria, Members of Congress on both sides of the aisle, including the Republican leadership, went to Puerto Rico. They looked the Puerto Rican people in the eye and promised to help.

This bill betrays that promise. It treats Puerto Rico as a foreign jurisdiction, levying new taxes on companies operating there, creating incentives for them to leave the island. All told, these provisions will cost Puerto Rico more than 200,000 jobs.

That is how they help Puerto Rico?

This bill is morally bankrupt. It harms American citizens everywhere, especially the 3.5 American citizens in Puerto Rico. Vote "no."

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. SCHWEIKERT).

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Mr. Speaker, I thank the chairman for yielding.

Mr. Speaker, I am going to give everyone a slightly different view.

There was an interesting editorial this weekend in *The Wall Street Journal*, and it basically said: Hey, those on the left look at income inequality. Those on the right, we look at economic expansion, economic growth.

They are both honorable, but if you actually look at the data of the last 10 years and our own CBO projections of the next 10 years, 1.8 percent GDP, we are in incredible trouble, because you actually look at what happens when you have this flatlined economic expansion and growth, and income inequality gets dramatically worse. You look at the charts when we have had times of economic growth, it closes and everyone gets a better chance.

If you actually do care about the promises we as a government have made to retirees, working people, veterans, young people, we will not have the resources if we continue for the next 30 years, as our own CBO says, of 1.8 percent growth. Status quo is devastating.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from South Carolina (Mr. CLYBURN), the assistant Democratic leader.

Mr. CLYBURN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding me this time.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong opposition to the Ryan-McConnell tax scam bill. This bill should be named the "Republican Donor Class Relief Act" because that is what it is, and several of my Republican colleagues and many in the media have admitted as much.

This tax scam represents a grotesque set of priorities revealing deep depravity of American values. One of the first

principles of our Judeo-Christian value system is grounded in what we do “for the least of these.”

From the outset, this bill violates that principle by lowering the marginal tax rates on the wealthiest among us by 2.6 points, while raising those rates on the least among us by 2 points.

This tax scam bill adds insult to that injurious act by doubling the estate tax exemption from \$11 million to \$22 million.

The Republicans add further insult to injury by lowering the tax rates for corporations by 14 points while raising tax rates on 86 million middle-income families. It makes the tax cuts for corporations permanent and the miniscule individual cuts temporary, while also kicking 13 million people off their health insurance and increasing premiums for millions more.

The tax scam caps deductions for State and local taxes and home mortgages and adds over \$2 trillion to the deficit. Our children and grandchildren will be left with the bill.

Mr. Speaker, history will not treat kindly the crass cruelty of this so-called Christmas gift for hardworking Americans.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. ROTHFUS).

Mr. ROTHFUS. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act.

Today we move away from a trickle-down government redistribution economy to one that is bottom up, organic, and growing. While the trickle-down government of the last 8 years was great for Washington and the 1 percent, it did little for the rest of the country.

Today we turn the tide and put money back in the pockets of hardworking taxpayers and Main Street businesses. This bill gives immediate relief to moderate income and middle class families.

A single mom earning \$41,000 with one kid will see a tax cut of \$1,300, while a family of four making \$73,000 will get more than \$2,000 back.

The questions are: Will we vote together and put this money back into the pockets of hardworking Americans? Or will we keep that money here in wealthy Washington, D.C.? Will we vote together to level the global playing field for America's businesses and end the unfair status quo that sends American companies and jobs overseas?

It is an easy choice, Mr. Speaker: vote “yes” on this bill and let's make America prosperous again.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentlewoman from California (Ms. PELOSI), the Democratic leader.

Ms. PELOSI. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding and I salute him for his extraordinary leadership and being a champion for America's working families. I commend him and the Democratic members of the House Ways and Means Committee for putting forth the facts on what is in this bill.

Mr. Speaker, today we choose what kind of country America will be: one that champions the ladders of opportunity for all or one that reinforces the power of the wealthiest and well connected.

Outside the Congress, the American people have already made their decision. Polling shows that Americans oppose the GOP tax scam by a margin of 2 to 1. Hardworking families see right through the brazen con job Republicans are trying to sell them.

So why aren't our Republican colleagues standing with their constituents? Why aren't they joining us on insisting on A Better Deal for American families? Why aren't they joining us in demanding that we write real bipartisan tax reform that puts the middle class first?

Because helping the middle class has never been their goal.

From day one, the donors, lobbyists, and the wealthy and well connected came first. The Frankenstein monster of giveaways and special interest loopholes we are voting on today proves it, and this monster will come back to haunt them, as Frankenstein did.

Republicans claim that their bill is a middle class tax cut. The fact is, according to the Tax Policy Center, their bill raises taxes on 86 million middle class households.

When The Washington Post asked Edward Kleinbard, former chief of staff for the Joint Committee on Taxation, if the tax package in aggregate would mean a middle class tax cut, he said: “That is delusional or dishonest to say. It is factually untrue. The only group you can point to that wins year after year and wins in very large magnitude is the very highest incomes.”

That is from the Joint Committee on Taxation former chief of staff.

The only greater delusion in this bill is the ludicrous Republican insistence, their claim that these giveaways to the wealthiest will pay for themselves.

Bruce Bartlett is the architect of Jack Kemp's supply-side economics. As Bruce Bartlett has testified in our hearing and in public, when it comes to tax breaks for the wealthy paying for themselves, he said:

It is not true. It is nonsense. It is BS.

He said the whole words.

In a few minutes, Republicans will vote to explode catastrophically our national debt at minimum of \$1.5 trillion, likely \$2.2 trillion or more.

Where are the vaunted Republican deficit hawks? Are they endangered? Are they extinct? Do they care about the deficit when we pass giveaways for the rich and big corporations?

They don't care about deficits, then. Tax breaks for the rich, corporate tax breaks: they don't care about the deficit.

Do Republicans only care about the deficit when the issue is helping children, seniors, our veterans, who are a large part of hardworking Americans?

My colleagues, my fellow Americans, remember this vote. Remember the

vote, when they will cheer at the end of this vote, they will stand up and cheer, adding trillions to the national debt in order to give tax breaks to the wealthiest 1 percent and to big corporations. They will cheer that.

They will cheer when they say we can't afford to protect the health of our innocent children. They will cheer that.

Remember, they will cheer when they tell you we can't afford the next step, we can't afford Medicaid, Medicare, and a dignified retirement our seniors spent a lifetime earning. That is an applause line for them.

Remember this day when Republicans cheer for a bill that hands a \$4,000 child tax credit to families of four earning \$400,000 a year. If you earn \$400,000 a year, you get \$4,000 in a child tax credit.

□ 1330

But if you are poor, a single mom, a mother of two earning only \$14,500, guess how much you get?

Seventy-five dollars. Seventy-five dollars.

Today we gather on this floor in the midst of a holy season. In this season, we celebrate the miraculous blessings of God. We reflect on the wondrous joy of children and our responsibility to them.

We remember our duty to live justly. For those of us blessed to serve in this Congress, we must remember our special responsibility to govern fairly, to meet the needs of all of God's children.

In this holy time, the moral obscenity and unrepentant greed of the GOP tax scam stands out even more clearly.

As the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops said early on, “. . . this proposal appears to be the first Federal income tax modification in American history that will raise income taxes on the working poor while simultaneously providing a large tax cut to the wealthy. This is simply unconscionable.”

They will be cheering it. Unconscionable. Remember what the Bishops said.

Now, here, get back to the Republicans. This is in sharp contrast to the words of Senator HATCH. Now, he is the chairman of the Finance Committee in the United States Senate and an author of this bill. He said: “I have a rough time wanting to spend billions and billions and trillions of dollars to help people who won't help themselves, won't lift a finger, and expect the Federal Government to do everything.”

How about that?

Tell that to the moms we just saw speaking out with their children, children with disabilities, who wonder how this could be so cruel.

This is an act of misery, but not according to Senator HATCH. And that is in terms of getting back to our Bishops. In his encyclical, God is Love. And I have said this to my colleagues before, but with, obviously, no effect on the Republican side.

Pope Benedict quoted the urgent moral wisdom of St. Augustine 17 centuries ago, my colleagues. Seventeen

centuries ago, St. Augustine said: "A State which is not governed according to justice is just a bunch of thieves."

Pope Benedict went on to say: "The State must inevitably face the question of how justice can be achieved here and now."

In his words, he cautioned against "the danger of certain ethical blindness caused by the dazzling effect of power and special interests."

Mr. Speaker, is there justice in a bill that rewards corporations shipping jobs overseas? Jobs of hardworking American men and women and veterans, shipping those jobs overseas? Is there justice in that?

No, I don't think so.

Is there justice in a bill that spikes healthcare premiums and may add 13 million Americans to the ranks of the uninsured?

No justice there.

Is there justice in a bill that raises taxes on 86 million middle class families?

Here we are. Raises taxes on 86 million middle class families, and they try to present the delusion that it is a middle class tax cut.

Is there justice in a bill that hands a breathtaking 83 percent of its benefits to the wealthiest 1 percent of Americans? Eighty-three percent of its benefits to the top 1 percent?

Is there justice in a bill that explodes the national debt to give the wealthy and the well connected a break and sticks the debt with our children? Is that justice?

I didn't think you thought so. I wish our Republican colleagues would join us.

This GOP tax scam is simply theft, monumental, brazen theft from the American middle class and from every person who aspires to reach it. The GOP tax scam is not a voice for an investment in growth or jobs. It is a vote to install a permanent plutocracy in our Nation. They will be cheering that later.

It does violence to the vision of our Founders. It disrespects the sacrifice of our men and women in uniform, who are a large part of our middle class, and to whom we owe a future worthy of their sacrifice. It betrays the future and betrays the aspirations of our children.

It morally demands a "no" vote from every Member of this House of the people.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK).

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I opposed the original House bill because it severely limited or abolished broad-based deductions, resulting in higher taxes for many families in high-tax, high-cost States like California.

Thanks to Chairman BRADY's leadership, this bill has largely addressed these objections and, in combination with much lower rates, it assures that nearly every California taxpayer will pay lower taxes. More important still

is the higher wages and better jobs it means for all Americans.

Last Friday, I toured a local company that makes the active ingredient for certain drugs, yet the actual medicine is not produced here. It is produced in Ireland.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair has detected a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will identify the person or persons responsible and have them escorted from the House Chamber.

The gentleman from California (Mr. McCLINTOCK) is recognized for his remaining 20 seconds.

Mr. McCLINTOCK. Mr. Speaker, I was saying that the actual medicine, the ingredient is produced here, but the actual medicine is produced in Ireland, solely because of our uncompetitive corporate tax.

Because of this tax reform, the company plans to grow dramatically here at home, employing hundreds of new workers. That is what the Democrats mean by tax breaks for the wealthy.

The proof of these policies will come over the next year, and every American will be able to decide for themselves if they are better off because of it. I am now highly confident their answer is going to be a resounding "yes."

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I would like to inquire as to how much time is remaining.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The gentleman from Massachusetts has 4½ minutes remaining.

Mr. NEAL. I reserve the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself 4 minutes.

Mr. Speaker, there is only one fundamental question today: Who gets to decide? When Americans work hard for their money, who gets to decide what you do with it? Is it you? Or is it some nameless, faceless government worker here in Washington?

When a family with young children is working feverishly to fund their kids' future, who gets to decide how they spend their money: them or Washington?

The single mom fighting every day trying to get by and give a good life to her daughter, who decrees where her money goes?

When a Main Street businessowner works late into the night and through the weekend, risking every penny they own to reach their dream, who gets that meager profit each day? Does it go to you, who earned it, exhausted at the end of a long day? Or is it grabbed by a Federal Government who doesn't even know your name except on April 15?

Our communities have watched their companies, jobs, and futures move overseas for too long. Our local businesses have been fighting other countries with one hand tied behind their back from an old, outdated Tax Code.

They deserve a new Tax Code that allows them to compete and win anywhere in the world, especially here at home.

When they compete and win, who decides where that money goes?

Today, Washington says spend it overseas. Our new Tax Code says bring it home, spend it here in America to grow our jobs, our paychecks, our communities. That is why this moment is so important.

Opponents of this tax bill don't really worry about tax cuts for the rich. They worry about tax cuts for you because if you spend your money, they can't. If you have the first claim over your earnings, they no longer do. And if your dreams come before theirs, everything in Washington changes, everything.

Given a choice between the Federal Government and you, we choose you, the hardworking American taxpayers. We choose you, the only special interest that truly matters.

Americans deserve a Tax Code for a new era of American prosperity. We deliver on that promise because it is your money.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the balance of my time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Members are reminded to address their remarks to the Chair.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself the balance of my time.

So, in 1 month, we have taken the entire revenue system of the country without one public hearing, without any witness testimony, without the solicitation of one expert. "We," meaning the Republican majority. They have decided to go forward with this reckless plan.

Contrast this with Reagan and O'Neill and Rostenkowski and Packwood in 1986.

When Gephardt and Bradley first offered their bill in 1982 on tax reform, 4 years ensued before the measure came to the floor for passage, and, in that time, 450 witnesses offered testimony. Every expert from every nook and cranny in America was invited to offer their vision of what a better tax system might look like. And those individuals—and I knew them all because I went to the committee when Mr. Rostenkowski was the chairman—saw that as the fabled achievement of their time in a bipartisan manner.

Do you know what else?

Secretary Reagan and Chief of Staff Jim Baker sat through the markups on that tax reform measure.

Now, Secretary Mnuchin, instead, has said, nobody at the top will get a tax cut. And then they cut the rate from 39.6 at the top to 37. Well, nobody at the top will get a tax cut.

We are going to double the exemption on this estate tax so that you might now keep \$22 million rather than \$11 million, without any formalization of taxation.

My friend, Mr. BRADY—and he is my friend—he spoke before about the people's money.

Well, you know what the people's responsibility is?

A million new veterans from Iraq and Afghanistan. That is the people's responsibility.

When we talk about responsibility and the people's money, Medicare is the people's responsibility. Social Security is the people's responsibility.

As we celebrate the extension of life expectancy in America, Medicaid today now cares for people with dementia and Alzheimer's disease. That is the people's responsibility.

They have carefully taken theology and wed it to science fiction.

Remember what we heard around here all these years?

Don't worry, tax cuts pay for themselves. That was the offering in 2001, \$1.3 trillion worth of tax cuts.

Well, we get to 2003, another \$1 trillion worth of tax cuts. By the way, there was time in between for a repatriation holiday, at 5¼, all advertised on the basis of job creation, and layoffs ensued almost the next day.

□ 1345

This money is going to be used for stock buybacks and dividends. There will be little investment in this lost opportunity where we should have invested in community colleges and vocational education and apprenticeship programs.

Six million jobs in America go unanswered every single day because of a skills alignment problem and also the horror of what opiate addiction has done across the United States. It has sidelined 2 million people.

What they are telling us today is the following: We have got tax simplification. What happened to the postcard? As I said earlier, we are going to have to carry around a billboard for tax simplification to figure out what is in it. They keep talking about phase-ins and phaseouts. I am telling you, we will all be passed out by the time they get done with this. This is more complexity.

And wait until people have a chance over the next few weeks to sort through what is in this bill. But here is something you might give some thought to: the bottom quintile, you are going to get \$60 a year. The second quintile, you are going to get \$380 a year. The top 1 percent, they are going to get \$51,000 a year. The top 0.1 percent, they are going to get \$193,000 a year, all in the name of middle class tax relief.

As we proceed to the holiday, they are telling us this is their Christmas present. And you know what they are doing with it? It is going to be Christmas hangover debt, and they are putting it on the credit card and adding \$2.3 trillion to the Federal debt.

Merry Christmas.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. RYAN), who has devoted

his life to this moment and tax reform, our Speaker of the House.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the gentleman yielding time to me.

First, I want to start off by thanking all of the members and the staff of the Ways and Means Committee for all of their hard work in putting this bill together. I want to thank them for this.

I want to personally thank one of my predecessors from the Ways and Means Committee, who helped lay the foundation to get us where we are today, and that is Dave Camp. Dave Camp did a lot to help us get to where we are.

I want to, most of all, commend and express my profound admiration to the architect of this measure, Chairman KEVIN BRADY.

His endless patience and his persistence and his great demeanor have seen this through and gotten us to where we are today.

My colleagues, this is a day I have been looking forward to for a long time. We are about to achieve some really big things, things that the cynics have scoffed at for years, decades even; ideas that have been worked on for so long to help hardworking Americans who have been left behind for too long.

Today—today—we are giving the people of this country their money back. This is their money, after all.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will identify the person or persons responsible and have them escorted from the House Chamber before proceedings will resume.

The Chair will also remind all persons in the gallery that they are here as guests of the House and that any manifestation of approval or disapproval of the proceedings in the House are in violation of the rules of the House.

The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Wisconsin, the Speaker of the House.

Mr. RYAN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I would simply like to remind my colleagues and the Speaker that my minute can last for as long as I want it to last.

Mr. Speaker, as I was saying, today we are giving the people their money back. The bottom line here is the typical family making the median income in America will get a \$2,059 tax cut next year alone. What this is is real relief for families who are living paycheck to paycheck, struggling to make ends meet.

They hear about the economy getting better. They turn on the TV, and they see the stock market going up, but now we need to make sure that these people in our communities and our country, who are struggling, see their own personal economy getting better, and that is what this is all about.

We have got to understand that times are tough for a lot of people in this country right now. Today, this is about how much better things can be. This is about more jobs, fair taxes. It is about bigger paychecks. It is about faster growth and upward mobility. It is about a strong economy that makes all of us stronger and healthier. Those are the effects, those are the benefits, of tax reform.

Here is the heart of it, and here is why this is so vital that we do this. Here is what it speaks to and what I truly believe is a generational defining moment for this Nation.

Our Tax Code is so broken that it undermines the very thing that makes our Nation exceptional in the first place. It punishes hard work. It discourages our entrepreneurial spirit. It dims freedom and free enterprise. It limits the potential of our own people.

When Americans see good jobs going away, when Americans wake up and they see the companies that they grew up with in their communities going away, they wonder if we have lost something bigger.

The mission that drives us here today is to restore this beautiful American idea. What is that idea? That the condition of your birth does not determine the outcome of your life. You can work hard, play by the rules, get ahead, and make a better life for yourselves and an even better one for your kids.

It is that sense of possibility. We want people to be free to strive to make the most of their lives. We want a country with the resilience to endure and tackle all of its challenges.

Mr. Speaker, economic growth and job creation will not solve all of our problems, but it will help make all of our problems much easier to solve. This is the direction that we are choosing here today because we know exactly where the status quo leads us.

For years, the powers that be have blocked and stonewalled reform under the umbrella of an arrogant, condescending, and paternalistic ideology—an ideology that seeks to limit mobility, to limit aspirations, to accept less in our lives. It is a view of the world that sees life and the economy as a zero-sum game. Your gain comes at my loss; therefore, we can't do it.

Look at where this got us: the worst recovery since World War II, flat wages, and an economy just limping along. Stagnation is a breeding ground for a class-based society where elites predetermine the outcome of our lives. That is not the American idea.

They will tell you this: Just hand over more freedom to the unelected bureaucrats, and they will figure it out, they know more, we will all just be okay. Hand over more of your hard-earned dollars to the IRS, and it will all be okay.

There is your scam right there. We know, given the opportunity, there are no limits to what our people, our fellow citizens, our brothers and sisters can

do. Yet for years now, this Tax Code has been skewed to the well connected, full of special interest carve-outs and loopholes.

Meanwhile, the hardworking family in America has got to jump through all the hoops that the IRS can muster. Reform means we bring rates down at every level. We clear out these loopholes so that people can just keep more of what they earn in the first place, because it is their money in the first place. No special favors, just basic fairness.

Reform means simplification, too. Nearly 9 out of 10 Americans will still be able to do their taxes on the form the size of a postcard. That is amazing.

And given the opportunity, there are no limits to what our workers and our entrepreneurs can do.

Yet while the world has changed, while the world has become more competitive, closer, smaller, our Tax Code has not. Instead of leading, we have been falling behind to the point where we now are the worst in the industrialized world at how we tax our businesses.

We tax our businesses a whole lot more than our foreign competitors tax theirs. They win; we lose. That is not fair.

It is basically open season for our competitors to come in and take our jobs overseas under the current Tax Code. Reform means we go from the back of the pack to the front of the pack.

Instead of the slow growth that we have been slogging through for years, we want to get back to real sustained economic growth. We want to build an opportunity economy where there is more demand for higher paying jobs. That is the whole purpose of all of this. Make sure that people can grow up and reach their potential. Make sure that the jobs are there to give people the careers they want so they can reach their potential, so their families can reach their potential. That is why we are doing this.

This is, without question, the single most important thing we can do to, once again, make America the best place to do business.

There is more than that in this bill. With this bill, we are finally restoring the freedom to make our own healthcare choices. By repealing the individual mandate at the heart of ObamaCare, we are giving back the freedom and the flexibility to buy the healthcare that is right for you and your family.

Finally, we are doing something truly to put America in the lead. We are doing something historic to develop our own energy resources. Some people have been working here since I was in the second grade on this project. After decades and decades in this Chamber, we are opening up a small, nonwilderness area of the Alaska National Wildlife Refuge for responsible development. It is the most ambitious step we have taken in years to secure our own energy future.

This is one of those times to just take a step back. Let's just take a minute, collect ourselves, and step away from the noise.

We talk a lot in this job about turning points. There is no doubt that we are at one of those turning points right now. This one will determine the kind of country we are going to have this century.

But too often, we have seen before how doubt creeps in, how the tyranny of short-term thinking takes over, and history—history—fails to turn.

There is, after all, a reason that this has not been done in 31 years. This really is a generational defining moment. And let's let this generational defining moment be defined by optimism, not by fear; by the rising aspirations of our people and not the doom and gloom of managed decline that we have become too familiar with.

This is our chance. This is our moment. Let's turn at this turning point. Let's reclaim the principles that have guided us for generations. Let's recapture our destiny for generations to come so this beautiful story of the American idea is repeated and repeated and passed on to the next generation, a nation more united, more confident, more prosperous, and, Mr. Speaker, more free. Pass this bill.

Mr. BRADY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, let's pass this bill.

Mr. Speaker, I yield back the balance of my time.

Ms. JACKSON LEE. Mr. Speaker, as a member of the Budget Committee, I rise in strong and unyielding opposition to the Conference Report for H.R. 1, the so-called "Tax Cut and Jobs Act," which more accurately should be called the "Republican Tax Scam Act."

With this Conference Report House and Senate Republicans have pulled off a near-impossible feat: they have taken a bad bill and made it worse, much worse.

I oppose this cruel and immoral \$1.7 trillion tax giveaway to wealthy corporations and the top one percent because it raises taxes on poor, working, and middle class families; explodes the deficit by adding an additional \$2.2 trillion over ten years; and will require an estimated \$5.4 trillion cut in funding for the programs ordinary Americans depend on for health security, educational opportunity, and economic progress.

Mr. Speaker, Americans are not fooled; they know trickle-down economics has never worked, and they see right through this phony tax plan and recognize it for the scam that it is.

That is why Americans reject this Republican tax giveaway by an overwhelming 2:1 margin.

Here are just a few of the myriad reasons why this Republican Tax Scam is by far the most unpopular tax measure ever considered by the Congress:

1. Raises taxes on 86 million middle class families;
2. Gives 83 percent of the tax cuts to the wealthiest 1 percent and explodes deficit by \$1.7 trillion;
3. Gives new tax breaks to corporations shipping American jobs overseas which will

eliminate jobs and drive down American wages and salaries.

4. The \$1.5 trillion deficit that will be created by the GOP Tax Scam will be used by the Republicans to justify devastating cuts in Medicare and Medicaid.

This Republican tax plan is even more toxic to my constituents in the Eighteenth Congressional District of Texas.

Mr. Speaker, as you may know, my constituents and others in Texas are still struggling to recover from the devastation caused by Hurricane Harvey, the worst storm ever to make landfall in the continental United States.

And by margins exceeding 90 percent, they reject:

1. Any cuts to Medicare or Medicaid to finance tax cuts for wealthy corporations and the top 1 percent;

2. Eliminating the mortgage interest deduction;

3. Eliminating the deductibility of state and local taxes;

4. Eliminating existing deductions for student loan interest or making taxable college endowment funds or college fellowships expenses.

Mr. Speaker, my constituents, and Americans across the country, oppose this unfair Republican tax giveaway because nearly half of the \$1.7 trillion tax cut goes to just the top one percent.

In fact, the average annual tax cut for the top one-tenth of one percent is \$320,000; for the top one percent it is \$62,000, and for those earning \$1 million a year it is \$68,000.

Nearly 25 percent of the tax cut goes to households in just the top one-tenth of one percent, who make at least \$5 million a year (2027).

While super-wealthy corporations and individuals are reaping windfalls, millions of middle-class and working families will see their taxes go up:

1. 13 million households face a tax increase next year.

2. 45 million households face a tax increase in 2027.

3. 29 million households (21 percent) earning less than \$100,000 a year see a tax increase.

On average, families earning up to \$86,000 annually would see a \$794 increase in their tax liability, a significant burden on families struggling to afford child care and balance their checkbook.

It is shocking, but not surprising, that under this Republican tax scam, the total value of tax cuts for just the top one percent is more than the entire tax cut for the lower 95 percent of earners.

Put another way, those earning more than \$912,000 a year will get more in tax cuts than 180 million households combined.

The core of this Republican tax scheme is a massive tax cut from 35 percent to 20 percent for corporations, but that is not the only way that the wealthy are rewarded.

The massive tax cuts for corporations are permanent but temporary for working and middle-class families.

Another immoral aspect of this terrible tax scam is that it abandons families that face natural disasters or high medical costs by repealing deductions for casualty losses and medical expenses.

Mr. Speaker, in what universe does it make any sense to eliminate, as this bill would, a deduction for:

1. teachers who purchase supplies for their classroom;

2. moving expenses to take a new job and taxes employer-provided moving expenses; or

3. dependent care assistance, making it harder for families to afford day care, nursery school, or care for aging parents?

This Republican tax scam jeopardizes American innovation and competitiveness by eliminating the deduction for student loan interest, which affects 12 million borrowers, and cuts total education assistance by more than \$64 billion.

Under the extraordinary leadership of President Obama and the determined efforts of ordinary Americans, we pulled our way out from under the worst of the foreclosure crisis when the housing bubble burst in 2007.

Inexplicably, Republicans are now championing a tax scheme that will make the homes of average Americans less valuable because deductions for mortgage interest and property taxes are much less valuable than under current law.

A tax plan that reduces home values, as this one does, puts pressure on states and towns to collect revenues they depend on to fund schools, roads, and vital public resources.

Mr. Speaker, an estimated 2.8 million Texas households deduct state and local taxes with an average deduction of \$7,823 in 2015.

But this is not the end of the bad news that will be delivered were this tax scam to become law, not by a long shot.

The proposed elimination of the personal exemption will harm millions of Texans by taking away the \$4,050 deduction for each taxpayer and claimed dependent; in 2015, roughly 9.3 million dependent exemptions were claimed in the Lone Star State.

Equally terrible is that this Republican tax scam drastically reduces the Earned Income Tax Credit, which encourages work for 2.7 million low-income individuals in Texas, helping them make ends meet with an average credit of \$2,689.

The EITC and the Child Tax Credit lift about 1.2 million Texans, including 663,000 children, out of poverty each year.

So to achieve their goal of giving more and more to the haves and the “have mores,” our Republican friends are willing to betray seniors, children, the most vulnerable and needy, and working and middle-class families.

The \$5.4 trillion cuts in program investments that will be required to pay for this tax giveaway to wealthy corporations and individuals will fall most heavily on low-income families, -students struggling to afford college, seniors, and persons with disabilities.

America will not be made great by financing a \$1.7 trillion tax cut for the rich by stealing \$1.8 trillion from Medicare and Medicaid, abandoning seniors and families in need, depriving students of realizing a dream to attend college without drowning in debt, or disinvesting in the working families.

America will not be positioned to compete and win in the global, interconnected, and digital economy by slashing funding for scientific research, the arts and humanities, job retraining, and clean energy just to pay for a tax cut to corporations and individuals who do not even need it.

Mr. Speaker, the tax scheme presented here by Republicans is not a plan but a scam that represents a betrayal of our values as a nation.

This tax scam is not a revenue policy adapted for the real world that real Americans live in but a fantasy resting on the monstrous belief that the wealthy have too little money and that poor, working, and middle-class families have too much.

Our Republican friends continue to cling to the fantasy belief that their tax cuts for the rich will pay for themselves despite all precedent to the contrary and evidence that their tax scheme is projected by experts to lose between \$3 trillion and \$7 trillion.

Mr. Speaker, in evaluating the merits of a taxing system, it is not enough to subject it only to the test of fiscal responsibility.

To keep faith with the nation's past, to be fair to the nation's present, and to safeguard the nation's future, the plan must also pass a “moral test.”

The Republican tax bill fails both of these standards.

I strongly oppose the Conference Report to H.R. 1, the “Republican Tax Scam Act,” and urge all Members to join me in voting against this reckless, cruel, and heartless proposal that will do nothing to improve the lives or well-being of middle and working class families, and the poor and vulnerable ‘caught in the tentacles of circumstance.’

The SPEAKER pro tempore. All time for debate has expired.

Pursuant to House Resolution 667, the previous question is ordered on the conference report.

MOTION TO RECOMMIT

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I have a motion to recommit at the desk.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is the gentleman opposed to the conference report?

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, I certainly am.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. Neal moves to recommit the conference report on the bill H.R. 1 to the committee of conference with instructions to the managers on the part of the House to disagree to section 11042 and part VIII of subtitle A of title I of the conference substitute recommended by such committee.

Mr. BRADY of Texas (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to dispense with the reading.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The motion is not debatable.

Without objection, the previous question is ordered on the motion to recommit.

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the noes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Pursuant to clause 8 and clause 9 of rule XX, this 15-minute vote on the motion to recommit will be followed by 5-minute votes on:

Adoption of the conference report, if ordered; and

Suspending the rules and passing H.R. 4323.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 191, nays 236, not voting 4, as follows:

[Roll No. 691]

YEAS—191

Adams	Gallego	Norcross
Aguilar	Garamendi	O'Halleran
Barragan	Gomez	O'Rourke
Bass	Gonzalez (TX)	Pallone
Beatty	Gottheimer	Panetta
Bera	Green, Al	Pascarell
Beyer	Green, Gene	Payne
Bishop (GA)	Grijalva	Pelosi
Blumenauer	Gutiérrez	Perlmutter
Blunt Rochester	Hanabusa	Peters
Bonamici	Hastings	Peterson
Boyle, Brendan	Heck	Pingree
F.	Higgins (NY)	Polis
Brady (PA)	Himes	Price (NC)
Brown (MD)	Hoyer	Quigley
Brownley (CA)	Huffman	Raskin
Bustos	Jackson Lee	Rice (NY)
Butterfield	Jayapal	Richmond
Capuano	Jeffries	Rosen
Carbajal	Johnson (GA)	Roybal-Allard
Cárdenas	Johnson, E. B.	Ruiz
Carson (IN)	Kaptur	Ruppersberger
Cartwright	Keating	Rush
Castor (FL)	Kelly (IL)	Ryan (OH)
Castro (TX)	Khanna	Sánchez
Chu, Judy	Kihuen	Sarbanes
Ciциlline	Kildee	Schakowsky
Clark (MA)	Kilmer	Schiff
Clarke (NY)	Kind	Schneider
Clay	Krishnamoorthi	Schrader
Cleaver	Kuster (NH)	Scott (VA)
Clyburn	Langevin	Scott, David
Cohen	Larsen (WA)	Serrano
Connolly	Larson (CT)	Sewell (AL)
Cooper	Lawrence	Shea-Porter
Correa	Lawson (FL)	Sherman
Costa	Lee	Sinema
Courtney	Levin	Sires
Crist	Lewis (GA)	Slaughter
Crowley	Lieu, Ted	Smith (WA)
Cuellar	Lipinski	Soto
Cummings	Loeb sack	Speier
Davis (CA)	Lofgren	Suoizzi
Davis, Danny	Lowenthal	Swalwell (CA)
DeFazio	Lowey	Takano
DeGette	Lujan Grisham,	Thompson (CA)
Delaney	M.	Thompson (MS)
DeLauro	Luján, Ben Ray	Titus
DelBene	Lynch	Tonko
Demings	Maloney,	Torres
DeSaulnier	Carolyn B.	Tsongas
Deutch	Maloney, Sean	Vargas
Dingell	Matsui	Veasey
Doggett	McCollum	Vela
Doyle, Michael	McEachin	Velázquez
F.	McGovern	Vislosky
Ellison	McNerney	Walz
Engel	Meeks	Wasserman
Eshoo	Meng	Schultz
Espallat	Moore	Waters, Maxine
Esty (CT)	Moulton	Watson Coleman
Evans	Murphy (FL)	Welch
Foster	Nadler	Wilson (FL)
Frankel (FL)	Napolitano	Yarmuth
Fudge	Neal	
Gabbard	Nolan	

NAYS—236

Abraham	Blum	Collins (NY)
Aderholt	Bost	Comer
Allen	Brady (TX)	Comstock
Amash	Brooks (AL)	Conaway
Amodel	Brooks (IN)	Cook
Arrington	Buchanan	Costello (PA)
Babin	Buck	Cramer
Bacon	Bucshon	Crawford
Banks (IN)	Budd	Culberson
Barletta	Burgess	Curbelo (FL)
Barr	Byrne	Curtis
Barton	Calvert	Davidson
Bergman	Carter (GA)	Davis, Rodney
Biggs	Carter (TX)	Denham
Bilirakis	Chabot	Dent
Bishop (MI)	Cheney	DeSantis
Bishop (UT)	Coffman	DesJarlais
Black	Cole	Diaz-Balart
Blackburn	Collins (GA)	Donovan

Duffy Kinzinger
 Duncan (SC) Knight
 Duncan (TN) Kustoff (TN)
 Dunn Labrador
 Emmer LaHood
 Estes (KS) LaMalfa
 Farenthold Lamborn
 Faso Lance
 Ferguson Latta
 Fitzpatrick Lewis (MN)
 Fleischmann LoBiondo
 Flores Long
 Fortenberry Loudermilk
 Foxx Love
 Frelinghuysen Lucas
 Gaetz Luetkemeyer
 Gallagher MacArthur
 Garrett Marchant
 Gianforte Marino
 Gibbs Marshall
 Gohmert Massie
 Goodlatte Mast
 Gosar McCarthy
 Gowdy McCaul
 Granger McClintock
 Graves (GA) McHenry
 Graves (LA) McKinley
 Graves (MO) McMorris
 Griffith Rodgers
 Grothman McSally
 Guthrie Meadows
 Handel Meehan
 Harper Messer
 Harris Mitchell
 Hartzler Moolenaar
 Hensarling Mooney (WV)
 Herrera Beutler Mullin
 Hice, Jody B. Newhouse
 Higgins (LA) Noem
 Hill Norman
 Holding Nunes
 Hollingsworth Olson
 Hudson Palazzo
 Huizenga Palmer
 Hultgren Paulsen
 Hunter Pearce
 Hurd Perry
 Issa Pittenger
 Jenkins (KS) Poe (TX)
 Jenkins (WV) Poliquin
 Johnson (LA) Posey
 Johnson (OH) Ratcliffe
 Johnson, Sam Reed
 Jones Reichert
 Jordan Renacci
 Joyce (OH) Rice (SC)
 Katko Roby
 Kelly (MS) Roe (TN)
 Kelly (PA) Rogers (AL)
 King (IA) Rogers (KY)
 King (NY) Rohrabacher

NOT VOTING—4

Brat Kennedy
 Bridenstine Pocan

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). There are 2 minutes remaining.

□ 1420

Messrs. STEWART and REICHERT changed their vote from “yea” to “nay.”

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the conference report.

The question was taken; and the Speaker pro tempore announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. NEAL. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 227, nays 203, not voting 2, as follows:

[Roll No. 692]

YEAS—227

Abraham
 Aderholt
 Allen
 Amash
 Amodei
 Arrington
 Babin
 Bacon
 Banks (IN)
 Barletta
 Barr
 Barton
 Bergman
 Biggs
 Bilirakis
 Bishop (MI)
 Bishop (UT)
 Black
 Blackburn
 Blum
 Bost
 Brady (TX)
 Brat
 Bridenstine
 Brooks (AL)
 Brooks (IN)
 Buchanan
 Buck
 Bucshon
 Budd
 Burgess
 Byrne
 Calvert
 Carter (GA)
 Carter (TX)
 Chabot
 Cheney
 Coffman
 Cole
 Collins (GA)
 Collins (NY)
 Comer
 Constock
 Conaway
 Cook
 Costello (PA)
 Cramer
 Crawford
 Culberson
 Curbelo (FL)
 Curtis
 Davidson
 Davis, Rodney
 Denham
 Dent
 DeSantis
 DesJarlais
 Diaz-Balart
 Duffy
 Duncan (SC)
 Duncan (TN)
 Dunn
 Emmer
 Estes (KS)
 Farenthold
 Ferguson
 Fitzpatrick
 Fleischmann
 Flores
 Fortenberry
 Foxx
 Gaetz
 Gallagher
 Garrett

Wittman
 Womack
 Woodall

Yoder
 Yoho
 Young (AK)

Young (IA)

NAYS—203

Adams
 Aguilar
 Barragán
 Bass
 Beatty
 Bera
 Beyer
 Bishop (GA)
 Blumenauer
 Blunt Rochester
 Bonamici
 Boyle, Brendan F.
 Brady (PA)
 Brown (MD)
 Brownley (CA)
 Bustos
 Butterfield
 Capuano
 Carbajal
 Cárdenas
 Carson (IN)
 Cartwright
 Castor (FL)
 Castro (TX)
 Chu, Judy
 Cicilline
 Clark (MA)
 Clarke (NY)
 Clay
 Cleaver
 Clyburn
 Cohen
 Connolly
 Cooper
 Correa
 Costa
 Courtney
 Crist
 Crowley
 Cuellar
 Cummings
 Davis (CA)
 Davis, Danny
 DeFazio
 DeGette
 Delaney
 DeLauro
 DelBene
 Demings
 DeSaulnier
 Deutch
 Dingell
 Doggett
 Donovan
 Doyle, Michael F.
 Ellison
 Engel
 Eshoo
 Espallat
 Esty (CT)
 Evans
 Faso
 Foster
 Frankel (FL)
 Frelinghuysen
 Fudge
 Gabbard
 Gallego

Garamendi
 Gomez
 Gonzalez (TX)
 Gottheimer
 Green, Al
 Green, Gene
 Grijalva
 Gutiérrez
 Hanabusa
 Hastings
 Heck
 Higgins (NY)
 Himes
 Hoyer
 Huffman
 Issa
 Jackson Lee
 Jayapal
 Jeffries
 Johnson (GA)
 Johnson, E. B.
 Jones
 Kaptur
 Keating
 Kelly (IL)
 Khanna
 Kihuen
 Kildee
 Kilmer
 Kind
 King (NY)
 Krishnamoorthi
 Kuster (NH)
 Lance
 Langevin
 Larsen (WA)
 Larson (CT)
 Lawrence
 Lawson (FL)
 Lee
 Levin
 Lewis (GA)
 Lieu, Ted
 Lipinski
 LoBiondo
 Loeb sack
 Lofgren
 Lowenthal
 Lowey
 Lujan Grisham, M.
 Lujan, Ben Ray
 Lynch
 Maloney
 Carolyn B. Maloney, Sean
 Matsui
 McCollum
 McEachin
 McGovern
 McNerney
 Meeks
 Meng
 Moore
 Moulton
 Murphy (FL)
 Nadler
 Napolitano
 Neal
 Nolan

NOT VOTING—2

Kennedy
 Pocan

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will remove the person or persons responsible from the House gallery.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (during the vote). The Chair notes a disturbance in the gallery in contravention of the law and against the rules of the House.

The Sergeant at Arms will ensure that the person or persons responsible are escorted from the gallery.

□ 1427

So the conference report was agreed to.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

SUPPORTING VETERANS IN STEM CAREERS ACT

The SPEAKER. The unfinished business is the vote on the motion to suspend the rules and pass the bill (H.R. 4323) to promote veteran involvement in STEM education, computer science, and scientific research, and for other purposes, as amended, on which the yeas and nays were ordered.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Florida (Mr. DUNN) that the House suspend the rules and pass the bill, as amended.

This is a 5-minute vote.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 420, nays 1, not voting 10, as follows:

[Roll No. 693]

YEAS—420

Abraham	Cartwright	Dingell
Adams	Castor (FL)	Doggett
Aderholt	Castro (TX)	Donovan
Aguilar	Chabot	Doyle, Michael
Allen	Cheney	F.
Amodi	Chu, Judy	Duffy
Babin	Cicilline	Duncan (SC)
Bacon	Clark (MA)	Duncan (TN)
Banks (IN)	Clarke (NY)	Dunn
Barletta	Clay	Ellison
Barr	Cleaver	Emmer
Barragán	Clyburn	Engel
Barton	Coffman	Eshoo
Bass	Cohen	Españat
Beatty	Cole	Estes (KS)
Bera	Collins (GA)	Esty (CT)
Bergman	Collins (NY)	Evans
Beyer	Comer	Farenthold
Biggs	Comstock	Faso
Bilirakis	Conaway	Ferguson
Bishop (GA)	Connolly	Fitzpatrick
Bishop (UT)	Cook	Fleischmann
Black	Cooper	Flores
Blackburn	Correa	Fortenberry
Blum	Costa	Poster
Blumenauer	Costello (PA)	Fox
Blunt Rochester	Courtney	Frankel (FL)
Bonamici	Cramer	Frelinghuysen
Bost	Crawford	Fudge
Boyle, Brendan	Crist	Gabbard
F.	Crowley	Gallagher
Brady (PA)	Cuellar	Gallego
Brady (TX)	Culberson	Garamendi
Brat	Cummings	Garrett
Brooks (AL)	Curbelo (FL)	Gianforte
Brooks (IN)	Curtis	Gibbs
Brown (MD)	Davidson	Gohmert
Brownley (CA)	Davis (CA)	Gomez
Buchanan	Davis, Danny	Gonzalez (TX)
Buck	Davis, Rodney	Goodlatte
Bucshon	DeFazio	Gosar
Budd	DeGette	Gottheimer
Burgess	Delaney	Gowdy
Bustos	DeLauro	Granger
Butterfield	DelBene	Graves (GA)
Byrne	Demings	Graves (LA)
Calvert	Denham	Graves (MO)
Capuano	Dent	Green, Al
Carbajal	DeSantis	Green, Gene
Cardenas	DeSaulnier	Griffith
Carson (IN)	DesJarlais	Grijalva
Carter (GA)	Deutch	Grothman
Carter (TX)	Diaz-Balart	Guthrie

Gutiérrez	Marshall
Hanabusa	Massie
Handel	Mast
Harper	Matsui
Harris	McCarthy
Hartzler	McCaul
Hastings	McClintock
Heck	McCollum
Hensarling	McEachin
Herrera Beutler	McGovern
Hice, Jody B.	McHenry
Higgins (LA)	McKinley
Higgins (NY)	McMorris
Hill	Rodgers
Himes	McNerney
Holding	McSally
Hollingsworth	Meadows
Hoyer	Meehan
Hudson	Meeks
Huffman	Meng
Huizenga	Messer
Hultgren	Mitchell
Hunter	Moolenaar
Hurd	Mooney (WV)
Issa	Moore
Jackson Lee	Moulton
Jayapal	Mullin
Jeffries	Murphy (FL)
Jenkins (KS)	Nadler
Jenkins (WV)	Napolitano
Johnson (GA)	Neal
Johnson (LA)	Newhouse
Johnson (OH)	Noem
Johnson, E. B.	Nolan
Johnson, Sam	Norcross
Jones	Norman
Jordan	Nunes
Joyce (OH)	O'Halleran
Kaptur	O'Rourke
Katko	Olson
Kelly (IL)	Palazzo
Kelly (MS)	Pallone
Kelly (PA)	Palmer
Khanna	Panetta
Kihuen	Pascarell
Kildee	Paulsen
Kilmer	Payne
Kind	Pearce
King (IA)	Pelosi
King (NY)	Perlmutter
Kinziger	Perry
Knight	Peters
Krishnamoorthi	Peterson
Kuster (NH)	Pingree
Kustoff (TN)	Pittenger
Labrador	Poe (TX)
LaHood	Polliquin
LaMalfa	Polis
Lamborn	Posey
Lance	Price (NC)
Langevin	Quigley
Larsen (WA)	Raskin
Larson (CT)	Ratcliffe
Latta	Reed
Lawrence	Reichert
Lawson (FL)	Renacci
Lee	Rice (NY)
Levin	Rice (SC)
Lewis (MN)	Richmond
Lieu, Ted	Roby
Lipinski	Roe (TN)
LoBiondo	Rogers (AL)
Loebach	Rogers (KY)
Lofgren	Rohrabacher
Long	Rokita
Love	Rooney, Francis
Lowenthal	Rooney, Thomas
Lowe	J.
Lucas	Ros-Lehtinen
Luetkemeyer	Rosen
Lujan Grisham,	Roskam
M.	Ross
Lujan, Ben Ray	Rothfus
Lynch	Rouzer
MacArthur	Roybal-Allard
Maloney,	Royce (CA)
Carolyn B.	Ruiz
Maloney, Sean	Ruppersberger
Marchant	Rush
Marino	Russell

NAYS—1

Amash

NOT VOTING—10

Arrington	Keating
Bishop (MI)	Kennedy
Bridenstine	Lewis (GA)
Gaetz	Loudermilk

Rutherford	Ryan (OH)
Sánchez	Sanford
Sarbanes	Schiff
Scalise	Schneider
Schakowsky	Schrader
Schiff	Schweikert
Scott (VA)	Scott (VA)
Scott, Austin	Scott, David
Sensenbrenner	Sessions
Sewell (AL)	Sessions
Shea-Porter	Sherman
Shimkus	Shuster
Simpson	Simpson
Sinema	Sires
Slaughter	Smith (MO)
Smith (NE)	Smith (NE)
Smith (NJ)	Smith (NJ)
Smith (TX)	Smith (TX)
Smith (WA)	Smith (WA)
Smucker	Soto
Speier	Stefanik
Stewart	Stivers
Suozzi	Swalwell (CA)
Takano	Taylor
Tenney	Thompson (CA)
Thompson (MS)	Thompson (PA)
Thornberry	Tiberi
Tipton	Titus
Tonko	Torres
Trotter	Tsongas
Turner	Upton
Valadao	Vargas
Veasey	Vela
Velázquez	Visclosky
Wagner	Walberg
Walorski	Walker
Walters, Mimi	Walsh
Walz	Wasserman
Wasserman	Schultz
Waters, Maxine	Watson Coleman
Weber (TX)	Weber (TX)
Webster (FL)	Welch
Wenstrup	Westerman
Williams	Wilson (FL)
Wilson (SC)	Wittman
Womack	Woodall
Yarmuth	Yoder
Yoho	Young (AK)
Young (IA)	Zeldin

□ 1435

So (two-thirds being in the affirmative) the rules were suspended and the bill, as amended, was passed.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE SPEAKER PRO TEMPORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. BYRNE). Pursuant to clause 8 of rule XX, the Chair will postpone further proceedings today on motions to suspend the rules on which a recorded vote or the yeas and nays are ordered, or votes objected to under clause 6 of rule XX.

The House will resume proceedings on postponed questions at a later time.

HOOR OF MEETING ON TOMORROW

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to clause 4 of rule XVI, I move that when the House adjourns this legislative day, it adjourn to meet at 9 a.m. on Wednesday, December 20, 2017, for morning-hour debate and 10 a.m. for legislative business.

The motion was agreed to.

JOBS FOR OUR HEROES ACT

Mr. GRAVES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and pass the bill (S. 1393) to streamline the process by which active duty military, reservists, and veterans receive commercial driver's licenses.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

The text of the bill is as follows:

S. 1393

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Jobs for Our Heroes Act".

SEC. 2. MEDICAL CERTIFICATE FOR VETERANS OPERATING COMMERCIAL MOTOR VEHICLES.

(a) QUALIFIED EXAMINERS.—Section 5403(d)(2) of the FAST Act (49 U.S.C. 31149 note; 129 Stat. 1548) is amended to read as follows:

"(2) QUALIFIED EXAMINER.—The term 'qualified examiner' means an individual who—

"(A) is employed by the Department of Veterans Affairs as an advanced practice nurse, doctor of chiropractic, doctor of medicine, doctor of osteopathy, physician assistant, or other medical professional;

"(B) is licensed, certified, or registered in a State to perform physical examinations;

"(C) is familiar with the standards for, and physical requirements of, an operator required to be medically certified under section 31149 of title 49, United States Code; and

"(D) has never, with respect to such section, been found to have acted fraudulently, including by fraudulently awarding a medical certificate."

(b) CONFORMING AMENDMENTS.—Section 5403 of the FAST Act (49 U.S.C. 31149 note; 129 Stat. 1548) is amended—

(1) in subsection (a), by striking "physician-approved veteran operator, the qualified